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Security Council

Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3377th Meeting

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New York

President:	Mr. Gambari	(Nigeria)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cardenas
	Brazil	Mr. Valle
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Olhaye
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Niaz
	Russian Federation	Mr. Vorontsov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bicamumpaka
	Spain	Mr. Yañez Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda
Report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/565)

94-85651 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 12.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda.
Report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/565)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Rwanda, document S/1994/565.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/571, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Czech Republic, France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America. I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revisions to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571, in its provisional form: Operative paragraph 7 should now read as follows:

> "Further requests the Secretary-General to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment, including inter alia on the cooperation of the parties, progress towards a cease-fire, availability of resources and the proposed duration of the mandate, for further review and action, as required, by the Council".

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents:

- S/1994/527,letter dated 2 May 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/552, letter dated 9 May 1994 from the representatives of Uganda and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/1994/553, letter dated 10 May 1994 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Uganda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1994/562, letter dated 12 May 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Burkina Faso to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

A separate vote on section B of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571 has been requested. Unless I hear any objection, I shall first put section B of the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Thereafter, I shall put the rest of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571 to the vote.

Unless I hear any objection, I shall proceed accordingly.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Bicamumpaka (Rwanda) *(interpretation from French):* First of all, Sir, I should like to congratulate you on your assuming the presidency of the Council for the month of May and on your admirable handling of our work. It is an honour for me to be able to address this august body, which bears the heavy burden of watching over the destiny of the world to preserve it from the catastrophes of war.

I speak to you in order to invite you to look more deeply into the tragic events that are currently besetting my country, Rwanda. Many people learned of these events as they happened, unaware of their historical background and origin, or of the motives behind them. However, many have asked why there was so much hatred and cruelty. Some would answer naively that it was the fault of the Rwandese army or of the Rwandese Government. Yet the actual reality is different, more complex, less easy to grasp from the outside. It is deeply rooted in the subconscious of every Rwandese and in the collective memory of an entire people.

The Rwandese tragedy derives from the age-old history of the nation of Rwanda. The hatred that is erupting now was forged over four centuries of cruel and ruthless domination of the Hutu majority by the haughty and domineering Tutsi minority. The hatred was cultivated by four centuries of cultural indoctrination designed to bring about the mental enslavement of an entire people. But too much hatred and too much

contempt, too much enslavement, inevitably bring rebellion.

That is what happened in Rwanda in 1959, when the Hutu overthrew the feudal monarchy and replaced it with a democratic republic.

The feudal lords did not accept the verdict of history and of the ballot box. But the result of the referendum organized in September 1961 by the United Nations was beyond doubt: no more monarchy in Rwanda, but rather a democratic republic. That was and remains the will of the people of Rwanda.

The feudal lords preferred exile to being governed by the former commoners, the children of slaves. They chose exile and counter-revolution. From 1962 to 1967, Rwanda had therefore to cope with interminable wars fomented in particular by Uganda. There were many innocent victims, either assassinated directly by the invaders or in reprisal by the Hutu population against the Tutsi who had remained in the country.

Several years of tranquility passed. Some said that ethnic hatred had died down, that national reconciliation had been achieved. Deep friendships developed between the Hutu and Tutsi peasants and among the elites on both sides, and mixed marriages were celebrated, many modest but some with great ceremony.

The illusion was perfect, but it was still only an illusion, for then came the invasion of 1 October 1990, fomented by the Chiefs of Staff of President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni of Uganda. The wound that we thought had healed was reopened.

Many lost their lives simply because they were Hutu. The invaders, the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), had taken the name Inkotanyi, that is, implacable killers - an expression taken from one of the 19th-century royal militias notorious for its cruelty. They destroyed everything that could symbolize republican power - roads, bridges, clinics, hospitals, schools and so on.

And yet, they claim to have taken up arms in order to restore democracy and the prosperity of Rwanda. What kind of democracy accepts the systematic killing of its people? What democracy can tolerate the forced displacement of more than a million people?

Fortunately, the army and the Rwandese people together were able to stop the revenge-seeking invaders, despite the strong-arm intervention of the Ugandan soldiers, whose notorious Simba battalion was disgraced in the attempt to take the town of Ruhengeri in north-west Rwanda, only 25 kilometres from the frontier with Uganda.

The invaders were forced to negotiate because they were unable to attain their objective of seizing power in Kigali in under three days, the target they had set for themselves.

Here I would like to pay tribute to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the outstanding work of his Special Representative in Kigali, to restore peace to Rwanda.

I would also pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, President of the United Republic of Tanzania who, with his wisdom and far-sightedness, was able, as facilitator, to ensure the successful outcome of the Arusha negotiations.

I take the opportunity of commending the tireless efforts of the Organization of African Unity which, working with successive Presidents and the Secretary-General, has made intense diplomatic efforts to restore peace to Rwanda.

Our thanks go to Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, President of the Republic of Zaire, the first mediator to be able to bring together the fraternal enemies so that they could agree on a cease-fire, which was concluded at Nsele-Kinshasa on 29 March 1991.

Finally, I should like to thank all the observers at the negotiations, who spared no effort to get the two parties to sign the Arusha Peace Accords.

The people of Rwanda, and particularly those displaced in the fighting, had legitimate hopes for those agreements. Everybody came together in saying: long live peace in Rwanda.

But alas, how disappointed we were when the moment came to implement the Accords, which had been negotiated with such difficulty. The Rwandese Patriotic Front, the political organ of the invaders, showed its true colours. It wanted power during the transitional period, and at any price.

Indeed, the transitional period was to determine the political future of Rwanda. It was during that period that we were to prepare the constitution, the electoral laws and the other laws to establish the post-electoral political system.

The RPF, the political organization representing the Tutsi minority - about 10 per cent of the Rwandese population - wanted to be able to win the future elections or simply to avoid them by introducing into Rwanda the bizarre system of a non-party democracy so dear to President Museveni of Uganda.

This approach by the RPF was not, however, able to resist the commitment of our people and the political parties to the democratic process, which had already begun.

This was the moment of truth. The leaders of the RPF, with their ultra-conservative ideology based on the arrogance of their ancestors, were not able to accept the contradiction facing them. Unable to persuade, they began to threaten - clear threats that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and even the international community were not able to stand up against.

It was then that the tragic, cruel and inhuman moment arrived. On 6 April 1994 the Head of State of Rwanda, Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, was brutally assassinated along with his Burundi counterpart, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira. Two Heads of State died that night at the same time, burned to ashes in the wreckage of their plane, shot down by a ground-to-air missile.

"Good riddance" said one Head of State in the region, whose unconditional support led the RPF to bring the apocalypse to Rwanda. The RPF took advantage of this moment of shock and grief to send its battalions, reinforced by soldiers of the Ugandan regular army, against the capital of Rwanda and against all the other positions of the Rwandese Armed Forces.

Once again, as in March-April 1992 and February-March 1993, the RPF chose to violate agreements concluded with the Government of Rwanda. It has never been said often enough, but it was common knowledge, that as soon as the Arusha Agreement was signed, on 4 August 1993, the RPF began to prepare for war by recruiting and by infiltrating its fighters throughout the country, and particularly into the capital. There were about 4,000 RPF fighters on 6 April 1994, not the 600 accepted in the Arusha Agreement.

The assassination of the Head of State of Rwanda on 6 April 1994 and the simultaneous resumption of war were not mere coincidence. These events were part of a carefully prepared plan to seize power in Kigali. That plan was coordinated with the Ugandan authorities, who themselves had carried out a concealed demobilization to make soldiers available to send to the front in Rwanda. The resumption of hostilities by the RPF, along with large-scale massacres of Hutu civilians, was the straw that broke the camel's back, unleashing repressed hatreds and a festering desire for revenge.

The apocalypse came in the form of an inter-ethnic war of unbelievable cruelty. Long-repressed hatred and bottled-up feelings resulting from constant provocation erupted. All of these events, one after the other, unleashed the animal instinct of a people afraid of being enslaved once again. Animal instinct or instinct to survive? This is the explanation of the inter-ethnic violence that followed the tragic death of President Habyarimana and the immediate resumption of war by the RPF.

The Government of Rwanda has condemned every massacre, no matter who the perpetrators were. Those perpetrators must be identified and punished. But this applies to the entire duration of the war, that is, since 1 October 1990.

The RPF, strongly supported by Uganda, has taken responsibility for killing the Head of State of Rwanda - high treason in any civilized country - and has resumed the war, a war more savage than the one that began on 1 October 1990. It has carried out systematic, selective massacres of civilians.

The RPF shamelessly accepted responsibility for its heinous crimes because it was certain that it could continue to mislead the world and convince the world it was innocent. But can we believe in its innocence? Can we agree that all of these crimes should simply be disregarded because of an unprecedented media campaign to absolve the assassins and assign them the hero's role?

Yet even before the crimes of April 1994 the RPF had been guilty of abominable crimes that did not move the world and that the media cavalierly ignored. Since the beginning of the war the RPF has massacred more than 100,000 people in the district of Byumba, in

October-November 1990; more than 150,000 in the districts of Ruhengeri and Byumba in February-March 1993; and about 1,000 after the signing of the Arusha Agreement, including some 30 in Kinihira, 20 in Mutura and a number of others in the demilitarized zone.

More recently, after the assassination of President Habyarimana, the RPF ruthlessly massacred Hutu peasants in the north of the country and in the district of Kibungo. Thousands of people perished, and several areas of the capital were plunged into mourning by the RPF, which pitilessly killed men, women, children and old people simply because they were Hutu and against its hegemonic designs.

Now the people of Rwanda have been driven into exile, without any hope of returning, for the RPF is preparing to destroy all that they owned. Indeed, the head of the RPF himself gave the order to march on the capital, saying that men and animals, small and large, should stay out of the way or be killed. Where will they go - these men and these animals? Did not some RPF leaders say at the beginning of the war that the Hutu should go into exile for at least 30 years and leave the country to the Tutsi?

That is not the solution. The solution to the tragedy of Rwanda is not to impose exile on the Hutu, who constitute 90 per cent of the population. The solution is not to let the Tutsi minority - 10 per cent of the population - seize power. The problem of Rwanda has to be understood so that it can be destroyed at its roots. The people of Rwanda carried out a social revolution in 1959 against the autocratic power of the Tutsi minority and the stifling feudal yoke. No people, however docile, can agree to be slaves once again.

What the people of Rwanda need now is peace, through an end to war and through national reconciliation. This means that there has to be a candid dialogue between the Rwandese Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front. It goes without saying that military hostilities and inter-ethnic violence must first cease.

One of the prime tasks of the Government of Rwanda is to ensure peace and security for its people. That is why as soon as it took power it appealed to the RPF to accept a cease-fire. The Government also took strong measures to stop inter-ethnic violence which was spreading throughout the country. Messages calling for peace were broadcast over the radio. The President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and members of the Government criss-crossed the country, holding meetings calling for peace.

It is true that the killing has now stopped in those areas where there is no fighting, but not in areas where the fighting continues. Indeed, the RPF turned down offers of a cease-fire, including offers by the Facilitator, the President of Tanzania, His Excellency Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

Seizing power by force has become an obsession for the RPF, which is systematically massacring people, particularly Hutus, who refuse to support it. The areas it has infiltrated have become killing fields. The people of the districts of Byumba and Kibungo have fled en masse to escape the merciless massacres of the RPF. More than 250,000 have found refuge in Tanzania, and there would have been more had the RPF not blocked the bridge over the river at the border.

The fate of those who did not flee is well-known. They were gathered together and collectively massacred by machine gun or grenade, as is the custom of the RPF. It is said that some RPF fighters eat the hearts of men they have killed in order to become invincible.

Can the RPF exile more than 6 million Hutu? Of course not. But there will be a catastrophe if the RPF does not abandon its logic of war and if it does not agree to enter into dialogue with the Rwandese Government, the sole legitimate representative of the Rwandese people, who fully support it.

Faced with this intransigence, the international community - especially the Security Council - must shoulder its responsibilities by compelling the RPF to enter into dialogue with the Government so as to bring about an immediate cease-fire.

The Rwandese Government is willing to conclude a cease-fire agreement with the RPF immediately. Such an agreement, guaranteed by the international community, and especially the United Nations, should make it possible for the two armies to resume the positions they held before 6 April 1994.

Moreover, the RPF battalion that was in Kigali to protect its leaders should not be reconstituted. For one thing, its leaders have returned to Mulindi, the headquarters of the Inkotanyi; and for another, it has been shown that the battalion participated in the war and in massacring the civilian population of the city of Kigali.

The Rwandese Government believes that the only way of ensuring respect for a cease-fire is the

establishment in Rwanda of an international buffer force made up of troops from truly neutral countries and excluding Rwanda's neighbours. Such a force would be created by expanding the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and strengthening its means. The Rwandese Government believes that the Security Council should seriously consider this approach in establishing such a buffer force. The Rwandese Government nonetheless welcomes the consensus achieved on certain points relating to the expansion of UNAMIR to allow it to contribute to the security and protection of the civilian population and deliveries of humanitarian assistance.

The Rwandese Government is convinced that the cease-fire will not be respected nor the Rwandese conflict resolved until Uganda ends its aggression against Rwanda and stops supplying war *matériel* and troops to the RPF. The Security Council should ensure that this occurs.

In this connection, the Rwandese Government has conveyed to the Council documents clearly showing Uganda's involvement in the Rwandese conflict. To prevent that country once and for all from destabilizing Rwanda and other countries of the region, it is urgent that an arms embargo be imposed upon it. It is upon Uganda that a military embargo must be imposed, and not upon Rwanda. It is not the victim who should be punished but the aggressor. The embargo against Rwanda would be tantamount to direct support for Ugandan aggression. The RPF would continue to receive its weapons and would not stop massacring civilians until it had come to power by force. But what good what it serve to take power against the will of the Rwandese people? An embargo against Rwanda would violate the Charter of the United Nations, which enshrines the principle of self-defence. Thus, the embargo should be considered against the aggressor when the question of Ugandan aggression against Rwanda is considered.

No one is more tired of the war than the people of Rwanda, but neither is anyone more devoted to freedom and democracy than this people victimized by nearly four years of externally-imposed war. It is to offer relief to this people in its misery and to build a better future that the Rwandese Government remains committed and determined to resume dialogue with the RPF on the basis of the Arusha Peace Agreement, which is the point of departure for reaching a lasting peace and national reconciliation.

In this connection, the international community will continue to play a central role, either at the level of the Agreement and compliance with it or at the level of humanitarian assistance and national reconstruction. I take this opportunity to reiterate the sincere thanks of the Government of Rwanda to all friendly countries, international organizations, non-governmental organizations and all people devoted to peace and justice who have given their all to help the Rwandese people find peace once again and who have spared no effort, at the risk of their own lives, to ease the suffering of the many refugees and those displaced by war. I should like here to pay a particular tribute to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which deemed it necessary to remain with the Rwandese people. I say "thank you" to them and urge them to stay to continue to do even more, because our needs are immense, faced as we are with over 2 million people on the road to exile because of this absurd and senseless war.

That is the message of the battered and torn people of Rwanda, which desires peace and national and reconciliation and rejects war and enslavement.

The President: I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): My delegation has already congratulated you in the Council's informal consultations, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. I assure you of my delegation's fullest cooperation and support in order to facilitate your task.

I would like to express our gratitude to the Permanent Representative of New Zealand for the way he steered our work last month.

Regarding the item currently under discussion, my delegation has already expressed its profound regret over the tragic incident that claimed the lives of two African Presidents - the President of Rwanda and the President of Burundi - on 6 April 1994, and the subsequent events of gruesome killings and massacres taking place in Rwanda on a large scale to this date.

It is regrettable that all efforts undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring States to bring about a cease-fire agreement between the parties have been of no avail.

In this context, my delegation would like to stress that the achievement of peace in Rwanda lies in the hands of the Rwandese parties themselves. Hence, my delegation believes that it is crucial for both conflicting parties in Rwanda to demonstrate political will and a sincere desire to achieve a cease-fire and, moreover, in continuation of a dialogue in order to implement the Arusha Peace Agreement, which constitutes the most suitable framework for bringing the ongoing conflict in Rwanda to an end.

The current crisis, which is in itself a human tragedy, has unfortunately resulted in the killings of thousands of innocent civilians, including women, children and elderly people, and has caused the internal displacement of a huge number of people, not to mention the mass exodus of refugees to neighbouring countries. My delegation is therefore of the view that the most urgent measures to be taken at this juncture are to extend all forms of urgent humanitarian assistance, particularly food and medical aid, to the displaced people and refugees, and to all those who are in need in Rwanda.

My delegation also stresses the importance of coordinating these efforts with the Organization of African Unity and the necessity of ensuring full cooperation from both parties to the conflict in establishing Kigali Airport as a neutral zone and keeping it open at all times for humanitarian relief.

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has exerted strenuous efforts in the most difficult conditions in order to help the people of Rwanda through this crisis. Despite our hesitation to involve peace-keeping forces in internal disputes, and in view of our desire to see a more successful UNAMIR, we support its expansion and the amendment of its mandate in order to enable it to contribute to the security and protection of civilians in Rwanda, as well as the safeguarding of the distribution of relief supplies and of the humanitarian relief operations.

While believing that the notion of the arms embargo and military assistance would not bring the satisfactory results expected of it at this stage or in the foreseeable future, my delegation fully supports this endeavour and considers it an important step in the right direction to contain the conflict and to halt its proliferation to other areas.

In view of the above, my delegation will vote in favour of section B of the draft resolution and of the draft resolution as a whole.

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for his kind words addressed to my predecessor and to me.

Mr. Niaz (Pakistan): It is a source of great pride for my delegation to see you, Sir, representative of a brotherly non-aligned country, presiding over the affairs of the Security Council with such aplomb and ability. The Pakistan delegation will continue to extend to you its unwavering support.

Let me also avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation for the skill and dedication with which the Permanent Representative of New Zealand, His Excellency Ambassador Colin Keating, steered the Security Council during the month of April.

After the horrific and gruesome violence and killings that erupted in Rwanda in the aftermath of the tragic deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in an air crash on 6 April 1994, the reaction of the Security Council was to cut down the strength of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) in that country. Thus it was by no means easy to arrive at the draft resolution before us, which envisages the expansion of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda to a force level of 5,500 troops.

It is our sincere hope that personnel for the increased force will be offered and dispatched to their areas of duty within a matter of days. The carnage let loose in Rwanda and the humanitarian nightmare which that country has become cannot brook any delay. At the same time, we also appeal to the parties in Rwanda to heed the international calls for restraint and reason. There is no doubt that without the cooperation of the warring parties as well as the people of Rwanda the enhanced UNAMIR will not be able to achieve much.

The situation into which the contributing countries will be sending their troops is indeed highly dangerous. It is therefore essential not only that UNAMIR be adequately equipped in terms of armaments, but also that it be given clear-cut rules of engagement under which its troops can effectively defend themselves or those they are required to protect.

The draft resolution before us is quite clear on the mandate for the revamped UNAMIR, and we hope that there will be no confusion in this regard. The restriction being placed on the supply of arms and ammunition to

Rwanda is also very timely. We hope that it will be scrupulously observed.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us in the hope that the strengthened UNAMIR will be able to help stabilize the situation in Rwanda and that the international and regional efforts at securing a cease-fire and the reinstitution of a peaceful political process in that country will soon bear fruit. The pressure to withdraw UNAMIR could, however, mount once again if the Rwandese parties fail to bring the hostilities and killings to an end within a reasonable period. That would mean abandoning the people of Rwanda to chaos and mayhem, the entire responsibility for which will lie with the leaders of Rwanda.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Olhaye (Djibouti): If there is a positive development in the relentless Rwandan tragedy, it is the apparently universal recognition that in some significant way the international community must now become directly involved. The approach of letting events run their course while diplomatic attempts were intensified to bring the Rwanda Government and the Patriotic Front to the negotiating table has, in the light of the seemingly diametrically opposed positions held by the combatants, proved fruitless. The resulting level of violence, death and displacement now qualifies as perhaps the greatest human tragedy in so short a time period in our century. The combined efforts of non-governmental organizations, surrounding States and the United Nations system to provide humanitarian relief fail to match the rising needs created by this catastrophe. It clearly constitutes, as the draft resolution before us maintains, a serious threat to peace and security in the region, which must be addressed.

The Secretary-General's *aide-mémoire* of 9 May underscores the rapidly deteriorating situation in Rwanda, which, he states, it is imperative to stop. The heavy fighting, combined with the effects of a serious drought, has produced a catastrophic food shortage along with the other consequences of the war. Based upon a set of assumptions, the Secretary-General correctly recommends a revision in the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and an upward adjustment in its numerical composition. The draft resolution before us, however, only partially addresses this requirement, with the hope that the whole spectrum of deployment will have been taken care of shortly after the next report of the Secretary-General.

In the mean time, the job of the United Nations will be to remove the innocent from harm's way and protect them during this process, while responding forcefully only to direct attacks upon itself or the relief efforts. The mandate will not authorize the use of force to stop ethnic massacres and bloodshed.

My delegation would like to agree with this scenario but, in truth, finds it difficult to accept. We believe the warring parties are of a mind to continue hostilities until there is a significant destruction of the opponent and his capability. As it presently appears, it may be a considerable period of time before we arrive at such a point, until when we can expect the level of destruction and death to continue at unacceptable levels.

Certainly the heaviest burden for this undertaking must be assumed by the countries of Africa, which we feel is possible with the cooperation and assistance of other Member States on an urgent basis. It is indeed a sad reflection on the state of collective security if this capability does not exist and cannot be expeditiously mobilized in the face of such relentless destruction and death. Without these measures, we believe the fighting will continue until little is left, possibly with contagious consequences for neighbouring countries. The fighting must be stopped and law and order in this tiny country restored before there is really no country left.

We fully support the call of the draft resolution on Member States to restrict the sale of arms and related material to any of the Rwanda parties. Halting such shipments will be crucial to the overall success of UNAMIR, whatever that may be.

Although, as is clear, my delegation would like to see a stronger mandate for UNAMIR, time is crucial at the moment. It is critical that we take immediate steps to halt the progression of fighting, aid those innocent civilians displaced by the war and control vital geographic assets in Rwanda, as the draft resolution proposes. Should the Secretary-General find that the measures called for are insufficient, it may be possible in the near future to upgrade UNAMIR's mandate to include more authority to halt the fighting.

With some reluctance, therefore, and in the hope of immediate measures being taken, my delegation supports this draft resolution on Rwanda.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* On 4 August 1993 the Rwanda Government and the Rwandese Patriotic Front signed a Peace Agreement in Arusha, and following this development the Security Council adopted resolution 872 (1993) on the establishment of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which reflected the support of the international community for the peace process of Rwanda. For a time after that the situation in Rwanda witnessed some positive developments.

Unfortunately, since the death of His Excellency Major-General Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic, and Mr. Ntaryamira, President of the Republic of Burundi, the situation in Rwanda has worsened quickly, with civil war engulfing the whole country and its people being plunged into an abyss of misery, creating a huge exodus of refugees into neighbouring countries. The humanitarian situation in the country is getting increasingly grave. The Chinese delegation is greatly concerned with these developments.

Yet the international community has not forgotten the sufferings of the Rwandese people. The United Nations, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the States neighbouring Rwanda have made various efforts to help the two Rwandese sides to achieve a cease-fire and resume, through negotiations, the peace process initiated by the Arusha Peace Agreement. Meanwhile, humanitarian relief supplies are being delivered to the refugees in a steady flow. Based on humanitarian considerations, the Security Council has agreed, after repeated consultations, to expand the mandate of UNAMIR and increase the number of its personnel with a view to improving the humanitarian situation and the security environment in Rwanda, and alleviating the people's suffering. This is a reflection of the international community's good will and its sincere desire to create conditions for the early restoration of peace and security in that country.

From the start, we have followed closely the development of the situation in Rwanda, and we sincerely hope that the civil war will be brought to an early end and that peace and stability will be restored, thus enabling Rwanda to embark on the road of political stability and economic development.

In order to realize the objective of the draft resolution and the final goal of national peace in Rwanda, we hold the following views:

First, the conflicting Rwandese parties should cease forthwith massacring each other and agree to an effective and lasting cease-fire so as to create the conditions necessary for an improvement in the humanitarian situation and the settlement of the conflict through negotiations.

Secondly, the Arusha Peace Agreement is the framework and bridge agreed by the two Rwandese sides for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Rwanda. The two sides should accept the futility of resolving the question of Rwanda by military means and should understand that national reconciliation can be achieved only when swords are genuinely turned to ploughshares after a cease-fire and when they recommit themselves to resuming the peace process initiated by Arusha Peace Agreement.

Thirdly, the two sides should closely cooperate with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, with UNAMIR and with the international community's peace endeavour. At the same time, they should adopt every possible measure to ensure the safety of United Nations personnel and of those engaged in humanitarian relief activities.

Fourthly, in the course of settling the crisis in Rwanda, attention should continue to be given to the role of the OAU and the countries neighbouring Rwanda. They should be encouraged to exert positive political influence and urge the parties to make further contributions to the achievement of a cease-fire and to the resumption of the peace process in Rwanda.

Mr. Vorontsov (Russian Federation) *(interpretation from Russian):* We in the Russian Federation are deeply concerned at the scope and intensity of the tragedy in Rwanda, which has already taken the lives of tens of thousands of peaceful, defenceless people. The tragedy is all the worse in the light of the difficult situation of the nearly 2 million displaced persons and refugees, many of whom have been forced to leave the country and seek refuge in neighbouring States.

We share the view of the Secretary-General that the carnage in Rwanda, which has brought that country's people unspeakable suffering, is a humanitarian catastrophe of unprecedented scope. Hence, the Security Council was correct to focus its attention on resolving this urgent aspect of the problem of Rwanda.

Because of the urgent need for United Nations action to deal with this severe humanitarian crisis and to save thousands of lives, and taking account of the positions of the other members of the Security Council, the Russian delegation participated actively in drafting the text before the Council, and is among its sponsors. At the same time, during the Council's preparation of the draft resolution, we did not conceal our concern that the decision to expand the United Nations operation in Rwanda was being taken without due account for a number of basic criteria for carrying out peace-keeping operations, criteria confirmed in the course of United Nations activities and approved by the Council in the statement issued by its President on 3 May 1994. In that connection, we are particularly pleased by today's changes and additions to the draft resolution, which go towards addressing the concerns we had expressed.

In that context, we must affirm that, in our view, a most important factor for ensuring the success of the operation is the unconditional cooperation of both Rwandese parties, as stressed in the report of the Secretary-General (S/1994/565). We are pleased that this aspect is reflected in the text of the draft resolution.

We proceed from the premise that the central element of the forthcoming operation is the establishment of secure humanitarian areas, primarily in Rwanda's border areas, for the protection of refugees and displaced persons and of members of the civilian population under threat. In that connection, we note that the report of the Secretary-General refers to the provision of assistance to those requiring it in the interior of the country - not instead of but in addition to the establishment of these secure humanitarian areas. The concept of these secure humanitarian areas will undoubtedly make it easier to establish them fairly quickly and will not require such a large United Nations force.

We also view as particularly important the draft resolution's provision with respect to the imposition of an arms embargo on Rwanda; this is critical in the absence of a cease-fire. Here, special responsibility for effective implementation will lie with neighbouring African States, particularly with respect to not permitting the sale or delivery of weapons and not permitting the transit of weapons through their territory.

In the light of the urgent humanitarian nature of this United Nations operation, I wish to stress particularly that it must be carried out quickly and efficiently so that it can be successfully concluded in a short time. If during that time the conditions necessary for continuing the peace-keeping operation do not come about in Rwanda, and if there is no progress towards a political settlement, the Security Council will have to give serious thought to what further action it should take. In that connection, we think it important that in the draft resolution the Council requests the Secretary-General to submit a report before we move to the next phase of the operation so that the Security Council can take the appropriate decision in the light of developments.

We also draw special attention to the need to ensure that the operation is carried out economically.

We are thoroughly convinced of the need for close coordination between the efforts of the Secretary-General and those of the Organization of African Unity and the neighbours of Rwanda - which in our view have far from exhausted the opportunities to bring influence to bear on the Rwandese parties with a view to a swift end to the senseless carnage, a settlement of the conflict, and the restoration of the peace process in Rwanda.

Russia strongly condemns efforts to resolve the conflict in Rwanda by force, and advocates an immediate end to the violence and the fighting in that country. We are willing closely to coordinate our activities in the Security Council and our bilateral activities with the efforts of all members of the world community, the Organization of African Unity and African States, with a view to dealing with this grave crisis in Rwanda. We intend to do everything possible to ensure that peace and concord will reign there once more.

In that connection, I wish to announce that the Government of the Russian Federation has decided to make available through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Tanzania a transport unit in Mwanza to provide emergency humanitarian assistance for refugees from Rwanda.

The President: I shall now put to the vote section B of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of

Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

Rwanda

The President: There were 14 votes in favour and one against. Section B of the draft resolution has been adopted.

I shall now put the rest of the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The rest of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571 has been adopted unanimously.

Since all the sections of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571, as orally revised in its provisional form, have been adopted, may I take it that the draft resolution as a whole has been adopted?

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The text of the draft resolution contained in document S/1994/571, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted as resolution 918 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) *(interpretation from French)*: Rwanda is experiencing one of the most tragic periods in its history. Tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of civilians have been massacred. None of the traditional safe havens - churches, hospitals or headquarters of humanitarian organizations - have been spared in this unleashing of violence. Faced with a humanitarian catastrophe of such magnitude the international community could not fail to react.

The Security Council had been compelled to make troop reductions in the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), which had been prevented from fulfilling its mandate. My delegation took that decision reluctantly and underscored at the time that it was a temporary measure.

By voting today in favour of resolution 918 (1994), which decides to expand UNAMIR up to 5,500 troops, my delegation is expressing its will to help the Rwandese people to find peace and security once again. The objective is first of all humanitarian. It is a question of ensuring the protection of the civilian population and allowing the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The longer-term objective of the United Nations is, however, political. The United Nations is determined to contribute, in due course, to the resumption of the peace process within the framework of the Arusha Agreement, which remains the only way to resolve the crisis in Rwanda.

France pays tribute to the peace efforts being made by the countries of the region and especially the Tanzanian Facilitator.

My delegation also pays tribute to the courage and determination of the UNAMIR troops, who, under the authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and of the Force Commander, have endeavoured to protect the civilian populations, to obtain a cease-fire agreement and to contribute to the resumption of dialogue between the parties.

France urgently appeals for an end to the massacres. It urges the parties to conclude a cease-fire and to cooperate with UNAMIR to restore peace to the country.

Mr. Keating (New Zealand): I need to begin, I regret, by saying that in the view of my delegation the first speaker in our debate should not have spoken. I say this for two reasons. First, in the view of my delegation he does not represent a State. He has no legitimacy and is merely the mouthpiece of a faction. He should not have been seated in a privileged position at this table. Secondly, he has, in the view of my delegation, given us a shameful distortion of the truth.

My delegation voted in favour of resolution 918 (1994), but I cannot conceal its disappointment that the resolution only approves a very modest first phase of the expanded United Nations presence which we believe is essential in Rwanda.

True, there are some very important and positive elements in this resolution. It contains a commitment to go back to Rwanda with a new mandate to protect civilians at risk and to provide security for humanitarian relief operations. It also signals quite clearly that the United Nations presence should be sufficiently robust and that force will be used if necessary against those who threaten protected sites and populations. It imposes a mandatory arms embargo on Rwanda, and it requests a report as soon as possible from the Secretary-General on the investigation of war crimes and genocide committed in Rwanda over the past four weeks. But the resolution stops short of what is really necessary.

Ten days ago my delegation proposed a draft resolution which envisaged all of the elements in this text, but which contained, in addition, one further key element: the commitment of the Council to an operation that would make a start on the task of protecting civilians at risk in various locations in the interior of Rwanda. No one can seriously expect the United Nations to provide support for every civilian at risk in Rwanda. Even if the force were fully deployed as we would like, it will take time and it will be difficult to cover all of the country. We all know that any operation can only do what is possible within available resources.

But, in our view, there is no need for the Council to condition its agreement by a requirement for further reports and further review. New Zealand would be the first to agree that there needs to be a detailed, hands-on process of interaction between the Council and the Secretariat to update and fine-tune the operational concept as planning is finalized in the period prior to deployment. Indeed, we would like to see institutional arrangements within the Council for a more hands-on approach to all of the complex operations supervised by the Council. But there was no need in this case to condition the deployment as has been done in operative paragraph 6.

We urge that the Secretary-General's report, under operative paragraph 6, be submitted as soon as possible and we also urge that the second phase deployment of the expanded UNAMIR be undertaken quickly. The burden now falls on the Council to make this work, and we will be looking to all members of the Council to live up to the expectations that have been created.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): I would like to say that my delegation, too, regrets the tone and the content of the first statement that was made to the Council this evening in the name of the Government of Rwanda. We would have wished to see a condemnation of the atrocities that have taken place, many of them in parts of the country controlled by that Government, in a less perfunctory manner than was done.

The world has been appalled by the scale of the tragedy which has occurred in Rwanda. It is not a tragedy to which there is any easy international response. The United Nations cannot impose an end to the bloodshed. But neither can it stand idly by. The Force Commander of UNAMIR and its personnel have been doing a tremendous job in the most difficult of circumstances. It is right that new tasks should now be added to UNAMIR's mandate to help the civilian population. The priority now must be to ensure the early deployment of the troops needed for these tasks.

The focus of this expanded United Nations operation will rightly be humanitarian. It is essential to ensure the rapid and effective delivery of sufficient humanitarian aid both to those displaced within Rwanda and to the refugees in the neighbouring countries. We hope that all donors will contribute generously to this programme. My own Government has given some $5 million since the beginning of last month to humanitarian relief in and around Rwanda.

We must not lose sight of the need to achieve a cease-fire between the parties and to get the peace process back on track. The Arusha Agreement remains the only viable basis for national reconciliation in Rwanda. We welcome in this context the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative and of the OAU and neighbouring States, and encourage them to continue to work constructively towards this goal.

In the meantime, both sides to the dispute must cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of the mandate which this Council has just given to UNAMIR. The parties cannot escape their responsibility for events in the areas which they control. Those controlling the areas in which the massacres have occurred must act, and act now, to stop the bloodshed. The Council's message on this, in its statement of 30th April and in the present resolution, has been absolutely clear cut and it needs to be heeded.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States): The cries of the victims in Rwanda have been heard calling upon the Security Council to act. The sheer magnitude of the humanitarian disaster in that tragic country demands action. This Council has struggled to formulate a

response that is both appropriate and effective. To do so we went to extraordinary lengths today for two reasons.

First, the United States wants the United Nations to succeed in Rwanda, and in all its peace-keeping operations. To ensure its success, we want to bring the ends and means of the Council's resolutions into balance.

Secondly, we believe that the guidelines outlined in this Council's presidential statement of 3 May are the right way to evaluate the viability of a mission, and we want to make sure that, to the extent possible, we follow that process in our deliberations.

That is why, in the next report of the Secretary-General on Rwanda, I would expect the following factors to be closely examined: a well defined concept of operations; availability of resources; consent of the parties; progress towards a cease-fire; and the duration of the mandate.

With this resolution, my Government believes the Council has taken the right steps to begin to bring aid and hope to the innocent victims. But whatever efforts the United Nations may undertake, the true key to the problems in Rwanda is in the hands of the Rwandese people. In Rwanda, this means that the killing - by all parties - must stop. The killing must stop, not only between armed combatants, but especially the massacres of unarmed civilians in which tens of thousands have already been killed. Further, the parties must consent to unimpeded United Nations operations providing humanitarian assistance to and protection for displaced persons, and refugees. In this regard, it is critical that all parties respect absolutely the inviolability of United Nations personnel and peacekeepers. If the parties can demonstrate their willingness and ability to meet these simple but vital requirements for an effective United Nations peacekeeping operation, then the international community will be willing and able to help.

The situation in Rwanda is horrifying, difficult and very much in flux. The resolution we have adopted today recognizes the necessity for both a rapid and continually refined response to best deal with the situation in the country. We hope the Council's action will be the impetus to convince the parties to end the bloodshed immediately. If not, we will look to further reports of the Secretary-General on how best to carry out today's decision. In this spirit of hope measured with concern, the United States supports today's actions of the Council.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): Since the beginning of April, events in Rwanda have been evolving tragically. Thousands of innocent civilians have been killed, and more than a million people have been displaced by the ensuing violence. We are witnessing an appalling humanitarian crisis of gigantic proportions. The Security Council has been seized of the matter since the resumption of the conflict, and has been continuously addressing the situation in order to be able to respond though concrete action.

Unfortunately, the commendable efforts undertaken by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the UNAMIR Force Commander, as well as those by the Organization of African Unity, to bring about a cease-fire agreement between the parties have yet to bear fruit.

In view of the prevailing conditions, we agree with the Secretary-General's view that it is essential that the United Nations consider what measures it can adopt even before a cease-fire is achieved. For this reason, my Government has voted in favour of resolution 918 (1994) to expand UNAMIR's mandate so that it can contribute to the security and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda.

Furthermore, UNAMIR will be mandated to provide security to and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations. It is clear that UNAMIR will be dedicated to ensuring means for the provision of emergency relief aid to those in need in Rwanda as a priority task. This, however, should not be the sole objective of its presence in that beleaguered country. UNAMIR should also continue to act as an intermediary between the parties, so that not only can an immediate cease-fire be reached, but also the peace process under the Arusha Peace Agreement can be promptly resumed.

My delegation supports the expeditious deployment of the expanded force of UNAMIR as essential for the successful implementation of its mandate, which has been broadened by the resolution this Council has just adopted. Brazil has supported the adoption of resolution 918 (1994), inspired by the expectation that renewed UNAMIR efforts will be able to relieve the plight of millions in Rwanda and to respond to the urgent need to restore conditions for the resumption of the peace process.

Mr. Cardenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* Since the events of 6 April 1994, with the violence and the atrocious, systematic massacres that were unleashed, Rwanda has been submerged in a humanitarian crisis of enormous proportions. The detailed report that the Secretary-General has submitted to us in connection with the situation in Rwanda tells us that almost 2 million persons have been displaced and that 300,000 more have sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

Some sources estimate the deaths at approximately 200,000 persons. This horrifying situation - for which there can be no justification whatsoever, regardless of those that have been put forward this evening - has made it absolutely essential for the Security Council to consider the adoption of measures to be implemented immediately in order to meet the most urgent needs of the civilians at risk in Rwanda, including the many refugees and displaced persons, contributing to their protection and security and providing support and aid in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

It is in this humanitarian context that the Security Council has decided to expand the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) under resolution 912 (1994) and to expand the force up to a level of 5,500 troops through a progressive deployment, to be carried out stage by stage. We stress the importance of UNAMIR's having the cooperation of the parties in the fulfilment of its mandate and especially in the task of ensuring the unhindered delivery of humanitarian assistance to those in need.

In addition, the parties must show absolute respect for the security of the personnel of UNAMIR and of those who are carrying out tasks of a humanitarian nature in Rwanda.

This solution is aimed only at alleviating the humanitarian tragedy to which we have referred. It is up to the parties to the conflict to rechannel the Arusha peace process in search of reconciliation, which, though difficult, is not impossible. This is why we consider it essential that efforts be made towards a cease-fire, and that in this context the Security Council establish a mandatory arms embargo on Rwanda and call on international organizations to comply strictly with it.

We hope that the systematic violations of humanitarian law in Rwanda as well as all the brutal violations of the right to life and property, which have astounded the whole world, will be fully investigated. In this respect, we commend the efforts by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ambassador José Ayala Lasso, in the important area which is the *raison d'être* of his responsibilities.

Before concluding, I also want to emphasize the initiatives that have been taken by the Organization of African Unity with a view to putting an end to the conflict, and to note the courage of UNAMIR troops. Given the gravity of the events, we also appeal to the entire international community to generously step up its humanitarian assistance to the people of Rwanda.

Mr. Yañez Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* The delegation of Spain is gratified by the adoption of resolution 918 (1994), co-sponsored by the delegation of Spain. Based upon a proposal by the Secretary-General, the resolution expands the mandate and the size of UNAMIR in order to contribute to the safety and protection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk in Rwanda, and aims at providing support and security for the supply of emergency assistance and humanitarian aid.

Like the Council's declaration of 30 April, the resolution just adopted is the result of intensive debates in informal consultations that have shown the concern of the members of the Council at the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Rwanda and the importance that we all attach to finding effective ways of alleviating the crisis of enormous dimensions that is afflicting that country.

It is necessary to emphasize the international community's repudiation of the violence that has afflicted Rwanda subsequent to the air crash that took the lives of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. We strongly condemn the numerous killings of civilians that have taken place in Rwanda and that are still being committed with impunity.

The Government of Spain, which has made the protection of human rights one of the fundamental principles of its foreign policy, is horrified by the reports that have come from many non-governmental organizations and from the communications media of the systematic, generalized and manifest violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda. That is why we associate ourselves with all the other members of the Council in recalling that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying that group in whole or in part constitutes a crime which is punishable under international law. Furthermore, any public and direct incitement to violence with the intention

of destroying a racial or ethnic group constitutes in and of itself a crime of that nature. This is why the Council has made an urgent appeal to the parties to cease immediately such acts of a grave nature, including incitements to violence that have been made through broadcasts that are known to all.

Like other members of the Council, we also regret that we have had to hear today, in the Council, reasoning which comes too close to an attempt to justify acts that we consider to be altogether unjustifiable.

The Spanish delegation will be closely following the evolution of events in Rwanda and in particular the humanitarian situation and the continued risks to the civilian population.

We therefore welcome the recent visit to the region by the High Commissioner of the United Nations for Human Rights, Ambassador Ayala Lasso, and we are awaiting with great interest the report that the Council has requested of the Secretary-General on the grave violations of international humanitarian law which have occurred throughout this conflict in Rwanda.

I also want to point out that the Foreign Ministers of the European Union have just adopted in Brussels a declaration which urges the parties immediately to put an end to the killing and to respect the Arusha Agreement, which remains the best basis for national reconciliation. The European Ministers also reaffirm their commitment to the provision of humanitarian assistance to all the population which is in need, and in this respect they have decided to send a high-level mission to the region.

The resolution which we have just adopted is just a first step in the search for a lasting solution to the conflict in Rwanda. Estimates of approximately 200,000 persons killed and approximately 2 million refugees will leave traces that will be hard to erase. It is time to appeal for common sense so that the parties may agree to a cease-fire and resume negotiations that will make it possible to get the peace process under way once again.

The stage-by-stage deployment of an expanded UNAMIR, with the active cooperation of the African countries and the remainder of the international community, will make it possible for the United Nations to fulfil its mandate with the utmost efficiency and will ensure the provision of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk. The Rwandese parties must understand that the full implementation of the UNAMIR mission depends, in the final analysis, on their support and cooperation and on their full respect for the security and freedom of movement of the members of UNAMIR and of humanitarian organizations.

Lastly, the imposition of a military embargo on Rwanda reaffirms the international community's resolve to contain the hostilities and to avoid an intensification of the conflict, a conflict which, if not controlled in time, could spread beyond the borders of that country, destabilizing neighbouring countries and having a highly negative impact on the entire region.

Therefore, everyone must work towards a political settlement of the conflict through the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, together with the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the countries of the region, in particular the President of Tanzania as the facilitator of the peace process.

It is our hope that the Rwandese parties, heeding the appeals of the international community, will cooperate in good faith with those efforts by concluding a cease-fire and resuming the Arusha peace process. If they do not do so, they will be assuming enormous responsibility *vis-à-vis* their people and the entire international community.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): The crocodiles in the Kagera river and the vultures over Rwanda have seldom had it so good. They are feeding on the bodies of the thousands upon thousands of children and women, hundreds of whom were pregnant, and men who have been hacked to death during the past six weeks by what has turned out to be a most vicious regime.

The massacres include 4,000 killed in Kibeho; 5,500 butchered in Cyahinda; 800 assassinated in Kiziguru; 500 slain in Rukira; 2,500 slaughtered in Kibungo; another 4,000 have been murdered in Shangi, a parish in Cyangugu, and 2,000 in Mibirizi, also in Cyangugu. This is the same Cyangugu where many thousands have apparently been trapped for weeks on end in a stadium without any relief. Surely one wonders whether the dead are not better off than the living.

These are just some of the massacres which we know of, thanks mostly to human rights organizations and the Catholic Church. One can only extrapolate the total number of victims. The Secretary-General has offered the estimate of 200,000 dead.

All reports indicate that these atrocities have been committed by Hutu cutthroats - and seldom has this word been so literally the right one - against their Tutsi neighbours. Now, there are those who would apportion blame "evenly"; those who would argue that there must also have been Tutsi atrocities against Hutus in this past month. And indeed, human rights organizations have assiduously sought direct evidence of massacres in territories controlled by the largely Tutsi Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). So far, they have found very little such evidence.

So we have some 200,000 Tutsi lives lost, out of a total population of about 1 million - 20 per cent of all of Rwanda's Tutsis. Each of us can figure out how many lives such a percentage would represent in his own country for his own people. This situation is being described as a humanitarian crisis as though it were a famine or perhaps a natural disaster. In the view of my delegation, the proper description is genocide.

Now, as is well known, a civil war has been raging in Rwanda as well since 1990. But even a civil war, however awful by itself, is no excuse - never mind justification - for genocide. And, civil war or not, the hundreds of thousands of civilians who have fallen victim to the butchers were not at the front lines but far in the hinterland, with no visible connection to the RPF except for their ethnic background. Hence the real innocence of those whom we all too automatically describe as "innocent civilians".

The Arusha agreements of 1993 pointed a way to resolving the civil conflict. As a consequence of the Arusha Agreement, the Government controlled by President Habyarimana was expanded to include noted personalities who had opposed him politically. Foremost among them was the Prime Minister, Mrs. Agathe Uwilingiyimana. It bears recalling that she and other Hutu opposition personalities were among the first to fall victim to the horror unleashed by President Habyarimana's supporters after his death.

By whom? Who is it who has been committing these unspeakable atrocities? Certainly not the Rwandan people at large, Hutu or otherwise. These atrocities have been committed by the Presidential Guard created by President Habyarimana. They have been committed by elements of the Rwandese Government Forces loyal to him. They have been committed by the militia, the Gendarmerie. They have been committed on orders of people close to President Habyarimana and at the instigation of the incendiary broadcasts of Radio Milles Collines. This radio station is private but it is owned by people close to the late President. Let there be no mistake: The mass media incitement to ethnic hatred mentioned in the preamble to our resolution has Radio Milles Collines specifically in mind.

We have requested the Secretary-General to present a report on investigations of the atrocities. Ambassador Ayala Lasso, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, is already actively involved with this issue. After we get the report, we will want to know who is responsible for the atrocities. Then we will want to know how those responsible will be brought to justice. For surely they cannot avoid justice.

Today, my delegation cosponsored a decision to move back into Rwanda - too late, for sure, for the hundreds of thousands who have lost their lives already, but in time, we hope, to curtail the continuation of brutalities. We are deciding to strengthen UNAMIR's numbers and to strengthen its mandate. Its first priority is to help the unfortunates who are in distress and danger in the hinterland. UNAMIR will not get involved in the civil war, even though a cease-fire would surely make its humanitarian job easier.

Last month, the Security Council was in absolute shock, stunned with disbelief at the viciousness of the massacres that broke out. Our first concern was for the safety of our vastly outmanned, outgunned, out-macheted and out-mandated UNAMIR. We reduced its strength, but not before losing 10 brave young men. Even with its reduced strength, UNAMIR has managed, among other things, to protect the lives - though hardly much more - of thousands upon thousands of wretched souls in Kigali. My Government salutes the courage of UNAMIR, the martyrdom of its lost comrades and the coolness of its commander. We also salute the indefatigable work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) continuing efforts of non-governmental organizations, which have done so much to apprise us of the true nature of the conflicts in Rwanda.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Nigeria.

My delegation has made it clear on several occasions in the discussions on this subject that Rwanda's situation is an exceptionally tragic one requiring a solution which would, in large measure, have to be extraordinary. It is true that a desperate disease requires

a desperate cure. My delegation also remains convinced that, while the Organization of African Unity and the neighbouring countries have an important role to play in efforts to halt the ongoing carnage and restore peace in Rwanda, the United Nations has an even more critical role to play in galvanizing international assistance for that troubled country. Indeed, we believe that the credibility of the United Nations is not particularly well served if, in moments of crisis, the United Nations prevaricates and takes positions which, in hindsight, are sadly mistaken.

Nigeria sees the tasks now facing the international community in Rwanda as three-fold: humanitarian, security and political, all of which are closely interconnected. On the humanitarian level, urgent assistance is needed to attend to the needs of an estimated 2 million people who are internally displaced and the 1.5 million others suffering from the consequences of the severe famine and drought which confronted the country before the outbreak of the current hostilities.

In addition, there are thousands of Rwandan refugees in the neighbouring countries whose needs have to be urgently addressed.

At the level of security, international assistance is urgently needed to halt the ongoing carnage and provide a stable and secure environment. The provision of security is vital not only for the thousands of civilians and displaced persons, but also to facilitate the work of the United Nations and other humanitarian relief agencies in Rwanda.

At the level of political concern, international efforts - both of the United Nations and at the level of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) - must put in focus the larger objective of achieving an immediate cease-fire and a lasting political settlement within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The resolution which we have just adopted makes a significant effort to address the pressing needs of Rwanda, particularly in the humanitarian sphere. In contrast to the drastic reduction of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) force level undertaken in resolution 912 (1994) of 21 April 1994, the present resolution authorizes the deployment of the UNAMIR force level up to 5,500 troops.

The focus of the expanded mission is humanitarian: first, to contribute to the security and protection of civilians and the establishment and maintenance of secure humanitarian areas, in particular for displaced persons and refugees; and secondly, to provide security and support for the distribution of relief supplies and humanitarian relief operations. In the exercise of this role, the expanded UNAMIR is authorized to take action as appropriate to defend itself and other international personnel and others located in secure areas.

While the primary focus of the expanded UNAMIR is humanitarian, the present resolution also demands that all parties to the conflict immediately cease hostilities, agree to a cease-fire and bring an end to the mindless violence and carnage engulfing Rwanda. In this context, it invites the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in coordination with the OAU and countries in the region, to continue their efforts to cultivate a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement. My delegation believes that it is important that we address the wider political purpose of the United Nations involvement in Rwanda by helping to obtain a cease-fire and helping to promote the peace process.

Two additional important elements of the present resolution include a request for the Secretary-General to present a report on possible violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda since the outbreak of current hostilities and the imposition of an arms embargo to prevent the sale and delivery of arms and related *matériel* of all types in Rwanda. We strongly believe these two measures would contribute to reducing the level of violence and thus foster the prospects of an early return to peace in the country.

In conclusion, we join in commending the efforts of those States, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations which have continued to provide humanitarian and other assistance in Rwanda under extremely difficult circumstances. We commend also the untiring efforts of the OAU and the Tanzanian Government aimed at bringing the peace process back on track.

We urge Member States to respond promptly to the Secretary-General's request for logistical support capability for the rapid deployment of UNAMIR's expanded force level and its support in the field.

One final word: although Nigeria voted in favour of this resolution, we have reservations on two aspects. First, we are not entirely satisfied with the manner in which African issues that come before the Council tend generally to be treated. Secondly, we are unhappy with

the import of operative paragraph 7 of the present resolution, which would seem to imply that the second phase of UNAMIR's deployment will be dependent on a number of conditionalities, including a further decision or action by the Council. Our own expectation is that the second phase of UNAMIR's deployment will achieve the force level of 5,500 troops, or as close to that as possible and necessary, as called for by the Secretary-General in his report. In this regard, Nigeria has already indicated its intention to contribute troops to an expanded UNAMIR. We therefore call on Member States to respond urgently and favourably to the Secretary-General's request.

We call on the international community not to abandon the innocent civilians in Rwanda, because to let them down would be to let ourselves down. After all, we are part of the same common humanity.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.45 a.m.